

- 601 They call each other by terms which signify degrees of kinship on the father's side or by marriage, as father, brother, cousin; others they call companion [compère].
- 551 They never name a person by his name, particularly if he is related. If they are compelled to name him, they say only half of the word. They often adopt the name of someone with whom they have contracted a particular friendship or companionship.
- 198 They have a jargon or special language (1) which they use in

1. Rom. version: "corrupt language."

dealing with us, and which is Spanish, French, and Carib all mixed up together.

[50]

CHAPTER III

Their Religion, or Rather Superstitions

- 762 It is better to say that the Caribs have no religion, because they
[77] do not even know the word for it, nor for prayer, church, or worship. They recognize, however, something in the way of a deity to which they render some duty, not by any love but merely for fear he will do them some harm. At the beginning of every revel or feast, they offer him the first morsels of the banquet. In a corner they put a matoutou (which is a sort of low stool made of rushes like their baskets) for him and place the best cassava they have upon it, along with gourds full of ouicou [a kind of beer], which is their usual drink. They do the same when they clear a wood to make a garden. They believe that this god eats what they offer him. Even though they find it as they left it, they say it is not the same. They believe there are
- [77] male and female among the gods, who are many. They often consult them, whether for the success of their wars or for the end of their sicknesses. The gods answer them, but here is how: there are
- 756 several of the Caribs, men and women, who are devoted and conse-
787 crated to these gods from their early youth, and who alone make them appear and speak to them. They are called bofé [Boye] or bof'af'ho, and they fast for a long time and abstain from many things.

601 Some authors suspect the native Americans to be Jews exiled to these places. I do not know if they are, but I well know that the children of two brothers call themselves brothers, and male cousins marry female cousins born from their own aunts. Moreover, they often refer to a person as father of such a child, they never have surnames, they wash themselves frequently, and they oil their hair.

22 They never eat salt, fat, or pork, and they abstain from a number of f26 birds and fish. Still, I do not believe that at the present time they fast for religious motives -- except for the boyes -- because I have learned from them that if they eat pork they believe that their children will be born with twisted feet. If they eat parrot or manatee they believe that their children might have small, round eyes like these animals, and if they eat garfish or eel the children might have a tapered nose. However, nowadays they eat what we eat when they are among us. I have noticed that those Caribs who eat with us are the most frequently sick and die earlier. This is because the different qualities of our various meats alter their constitution. [275]

552 Eight days after the birth of a child they summon someone to pierce his ears, his lower lip, and the place between his nostrils.

551 They pass string through these places in order to make openings to attach the pendants when the child grows up. These pendants are sometimes made of small caracoli, or glass beads, while others only use five or six cotton threads. If they have pins or hooks they put these through the lower lip. They give the child his name at this same time. This name is very often that of a dead grandfather or a [715] dead grandmother in order to make him or her live again in the person of the child. When the child grows up it changes or retains the name as it likes. [287]

557 The Carib husbands and even their wives are rarely called by their names, and it seems criminal even to think of it. They only pronounce the first syllables, and even these are pronounced only in their absence, for in their presence they would be offended. They use circumlocutions, saying father of such and such a child, for they are not afraid of calling children by their names. In their drinking parties when they are half drunk they think it a great honor to be called by the name of the Arawak that they have killed. Captain Baron was called Callamiéna when he was in a state of drunkenness. He took another captain by the hand and in front of all the principal

585 place to another, [312] The wives of the Caribs pretend to be leave and they take care not to show their jealousy. But however hard they try, jealousy shows itself. It appears that they have reason to be jealous, for the custom is that a wife having lived for one month with her husband should retire yielding her place to another. Sometimes, however, a man stays for a full year with another, abandoning the one he had chosen previously, and she feels this sharply. If she betrays her
 684 husband he will not fail to kill her. I have seen captains who tell their sons-in-law to go and sleep with their wives, for otherwise the captains say, they will give their daughters to others and this has happened
 579 several times, [208] When women die the men remarry, and when men die the women take other husbands. If these husbands also die, they can take other husbands, [209]

349 The Carib women do not approach anyone when they have their menstrual cycle upset and they will not allow anyone to approach them, no matter what bad treatment they receive for this conduct, because they believe that this would upset the cycle more, [298]

606 The young married people turn aside to avoid speaking and meeting their fathers-in-law, brothers-in-law, mothers-in-law and sisters-in-law. When I observed this I asked them why they avoided speaking with people who are so useful to them. Their reply was, "It is not permitted for me. I dare not do it," [301] "Your mother-in-law is troublesome to you when she does not see her husband," [136]

• 608 Acátohou is a maternal uncle, i. e. mother's brother. Neukáçayem is an uncle who has married a maternal aunt. Naheupouli is an aunt. Ninántaganum is the term by which uncles call their nephews who are sons of their sisters. The aunts call these nephews thátomon. Uncles and aunts call their nieces nibáche. Uncles and aunts call the children of their nephews nínibothé, nitamothé. The children of nephews call their great uncles and great aunts by the same term that their fathers use for these very same relatives. First cousins whom we call sons of the father's brother are called "brother." The brothers of the father are also called "father." The children of brothers never marry among themselves. But if the sisters of their fathers should have daughters they may well marry them. If there should be no daughters these male cousins are called lapátagnum. Girl cousins call their maternal male cousins nígatou when their sisters do not marry them, and in this case the boy cousins call these girl cousins niotille atonum. However, if these boy cousins should take these girl cousins in marriage, the female cousin is

- 461 called ninuélleri and she calls him nibélleri. A male cousin after he is married drops all his previous names and is called ibemotti. Female cousins after marriage retain the name nibancou. Children of these marriages on the uncle's side are called ibemotti nicapote, and on the aunt's side ibemotti nigatou, that is to say, these are the terms the above-mentioned cousins use.

Niraniou is the name that the sister-in-law gives to her brother-in-law. Namibe or otaraminco is the name which the brother-in-law gives to his sister-in-law. The fathers and mothers of the married people are called nichérou. The fathers-in-law call their sons-in-law thalimoucou. The mothers-in-law call them nirigon, nitan, or nitiri. The sons-in-law call their fathers-in-law imetancou or imetamoulou. The mothers-in-law call their mothers-in-law iménouti. The father-in-law uses the same name, nackre, for both his daughter-in-law and for mother-in-law. These women call him nétegon. Most of the time cheu is the name for all the children, both one's own as well as others.

The women take these names according to their rank in marriage: libotité, libotignécou, kiefé, libotyaóni.

These are the terms by which the children call their father's wives who are not their true mothers: noncouchouvéonaron or ichanéméni. If a woman has children of somebody other than her husband these children are called ioumanténi. Men and women call their children from other marriages intemououli or nraheucayem. Children coming from Carib men and negro women are called chibérall, cachlouma, or yabouloupon. [11]

7. Occupations

- 461 The Caribs are strong and robust, but nevertheless, they only work lightly. In the morning after breakfast they go here and there to work or to hunt, but it is necessary that the weather is good and that the dew has disappeared. Before they will put out to sea they say "let us wait until it becomes warm." Meanwhile a breeze usually comes up and they have much more difficulty rowing. When they are asked to clear a garden they come with their axes and cut down very much in a single morning, but then they drink the rest of the day and all the following

CARIB SOCIAL STRUCTURE

189

After the evening meal, the short period before sleep is usually occupied in 517
recounting in great detail the day's experience. Like archery and pottery, cotton-
spinning and hammock-weaving have become things of the past; and as the 513
average Carib home possesses at most one bed, most of the family sleep on the 519
floor or on hard wooden benches.

Death, burial, and mourning customs have been discussed in a previous 520
paper.⁸

There is in the Carib Reserve no ownership of land other than the right to its 423
produce and further exploitation conferred by continuous use. It is otherwise 422
with (planted) fruit-bearing trees, houses, domestic animals, tools and imple- 426
ments, furniture, and the produce of various pursuits whether in cash or kind.
Children are given gardens, trees, young pigs or hens for their own. Grown
offspring are of course expected to contribute as best they can to the general
economy of their (joint) family so long as they remain with it. But when they
go to live with a wife, or to make a separate establishment, they take away with
them whatever things or rights are theirs. Thus, the house and its contents
belong to whichever spouse built, bought, or inherited them, and in the case of
separation would be so allotted. In the event of the death of one of the spouses,
the surviving spouse inherits the property of the deceased, but is expected to
divide movables in excess of personal requirements between grown offspring or
deceased's nearest kin. Provision-gardens may, unless apportioned before the
late owner's death, be left intact to be worked communally by the surviving
spouse and offspring. The fact that all children are allotted gardens, pigs, etc.,
of their own tends to prevent squabbles over inheritance. A deceased wife's par-
ents are supposed to help their widowed son-in-law unless and until he remarries
into another family. When both parents are dead, the house and its contents
belong by right to the youngest surviving child, irrespective of sex. Other prop-
erty may continue to be held communally (when the family remains together),
or be divided equally among all the children or according to agreement or to the
expressed wish of the deceased. The "old-time" Caribs are said to have been
"uncivilized" because they never left anything for their children.

Kinship, reckoned bi-laterally, is recognized to at least the fourth degree 601
(common law), and often far beyond. Nevertheless, it is rare that any obliga-
tion is acknowledge outside the joint family. Therefore, because this is largely
matrilocal, greater concern is usually shown for mother's than for father's kin.
The (Creole) kinship terminology current today naturally reflects French rather 601 ●
than native social structure, but there are several peculiarities in its employment 177

⁸ Taylor, *The Caribs of Dominica*, p. 121.

- 601 which point to Carib or Africa influence. Such terms as *couple*, *couple*, *parain*, *maraine* (contracted a *marine* in Creole), *filial*, are easily used (at least in address) in modern European speech; and *quibone* (relationship between men having had intercourse with the same woman), *couple*. The words for child (*afé*, *fi*) are used in preference to those for son and daughter; for brother's child, sister's child, rather than *uncle* meaning nephew and *niece*; while *amitié* is always indicated in designating siblings, especially an eldest brother or sister (*g'af'ou*, *g'af'ou*). Children sometimes address the latter as *de* or *dada*, a term they otherwise reserve for their maternal grandmother, and which means, among Creoles, (children's) *art*. *Pap* (or *papa*), *mam* (or *mama*) are used to and of father and mother, *pe* (< *pie*) and *ma* (< *ma*) being reserved for parents. *P'p* (< *frère*) and *so* (< *sœur*) or *so* are used in addressing elder siblings. *P'p* and *ma* is addressing that with whom one made the First Communion together. The latter term also is used of and to a son. Grandparents may be addressed as *Pap N*, *Mam N-N* standing in most cases for their own given names, but in two recorded cases for that of their youngest children. *G'af'ou* (< *grandpapa*) and *g'af'ou* or *g'af'ou* are employed chiefly in reference. The latter term is applied to a woman's relationship to the child she put into the world (as a *signe-femme*) whether or not it be her own grandchild.

LIST OF KINSHIP TERMS

- 601 In the following list, personal prefixes, separated by a hyphen from the stem, are:
- 1st person: *i*, *in*, *ya*, *ye*; *i* *li* (man speaking)
o, *na*, *ni*, *no*; *o* *we* (man or woman speaking)
- 2nd person: *a*, *e*, *ap*, *ey* (man speaking)
o, *pe*, *bo*, *be*; *o*, *li* (man or woman speaking)
- 3rd person: *l* (-*li*, -*ei*, -*ei*) (male class)
o, *o* (-*ei*, -*ei*) (non-male class)
ab, *aba* (-*ei*, -*ei*, -*ei*) (common plural)

Alternative forms of the same terms are given under the same number. Those still remembered (1942) are in *italics*. Forms and interpretations not given by Besson are in parentheses. Plurals are indicated by *pl*. *o* is a nasalspirant voiceless stop; *o* is a voiceless bilabial plosive; *q* is a glottal *g* or *k*; *h* replaces Besson's digraph /*gn*/. The last sound *li* did not exist in recent Carib at least, its place being taken by /*y*/ with nasalization of the preceding vowel. A hook (as *q*) denotes a nasal vowel.

CASE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

189

Abbreviations used in interpreting the terms are: w, wife; h, husband; m, mother; f, father; d, daughter; s, son; sp, spouse; ch, child; si, sister; br, brother; au, nephew; ni, niece; gr, grandfather, etc.; o br, older brother, etc.; y br, younger brother, etc.; vac, vacation.

No.	Term	Men speaking	Meanings Either Sex	Women speaking
1	wikili, (w'lii)	man, male		
	pl: wikile	men, males		
2	éyoti; pl: éyoti			man, men
3	wile, (w'ri)	woman, female		
	pl: ule (w'ri)	women, females		
4	share, (sh'ara)			woman
	pl: buyi			women
5	callinago, (karinku)	Carib		
	pl: kallinagoyi	Caribs		
6	kalliput (karinkut)		Carib	Carib
7	no- or yu- liku	Carib kinman from any island		
8	o-ku, si-ku	wife or kinman		
9	i-uku, si-uku (niku)			kin, kin, or tribesman
10	o-ku, o-ku	husband		
11	o-ku, o-ku	husband		
12	(o-ku, o-ku)		husband	
13	ni-ku pl: ni-ku			husband husbands
14	ni-ku			husband
15	yu-ku	wife		
16	o-ku	(principal) wife		
	pl: o-ku	(principal) wives		
17	kyi	(subsequent) wife		
	pl: kyi	(subsequent) wives		
18	ib-ku	(subsequent) wife		
19	o-ku	concubine or con- cubinage		
	(o-ku)	concubine or de- virginated		

(61)	No.	Term	Man speaking	Meaning	
				Either Sex	Woman speaking
	20	n-shuyimani (n-shuyimani)	"m-rival" "m-rival"		
	21	n-lani pl: n-laniq			wife; wives
	22	n-lilani	fancie		
	23	(n-lani)		fancie, overheart	
	24	n-unie	brw; wu		h br; (n h)
	25	ni-uniq	br w		n h
	26	wu-uniq	w u		(h br)
	27	n-lilani	n h		n h (girl speaking)
	28	shimay	n h (w br)		
	29	yirani	n h		
	30	shu-w	ally*		
	31	imimani	w f (lit. s gf)		
		imimani	w f (lit. s gf)		
	32	imimani	w m (lit. s gm)		
		imimani, (imimani)	w m (lit. s gm)		
		imimani	w m (lit. s gm)		
	33	n-shuyimani, n-shuyimani pl: shu-shuyimani		pregnate, uncertain	h f or h m, d h
	34	n-lani n-lani	w br s	d h, woman's br s	d h or br s d h
	35	shilimani (mity)	d h (lit. go person)	person (home)	
	36	n-shuyimani, shuyimani		s w	
	37	shuyimani			h m s
	38	n-shuyimani		f m h, m m h	
	39	imimani	w ch (step-child)		
	40	ni-shuyimani			h ch (step-child)
	41	y-shuyimani	m h (step-father)		
	42	shuyimani	f w (step-mother)		

* Vocative form of address between man whose wives are absent.

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946

ST13 Callinago ST13

CAREB SOCIAL STRUCTURE

187

No.	Term	Men speaking	Meanings Either Sex	Women speaking
43	no-kiluro-cinara			f w (step-mother)
44	a-lira		ch up parent	
45	a-lirp		sansake	
46	a-lira		name ("god") child	
47	al-lira			name-father
48	y-amili-ci	name-father		chief, headman
49	y-amili-kali	name-father		
49	in-elen-bu, y-ebuna	sponsor who initiates initiate at puberty ceremony		
50	i-bawale	formal friend		
51	in-bawale	formal friend		
52	in-lira	be formal friend		
53	a-lira			formal friend
54	in-dgal	joking friend		
55	i-bawale	girl friend		
56	lay, lay pl: k-lira-kira	o br, f br o, m m o s		
57	a-mabimili	as 56		
58	q-lira	vocative term of address to 56/57		
59	a-lira-kira pl: k-lira-kira			o br, f br o, m m o s
60	a-lira pl: k-lira	y br, f br y, m m y s	half, moiety	
61	i-bawale	be following in age		
62	a-lira			be following in age
63	a-lira			y br
64	a-lira			y m
65	w-lira		y br (term of address to)	
66	w-lira		y m (term of address to)	

601 No.	Term	Men speaking	Marriage	
			Enter Sex	Women speaking
67	ya-or si-nqé, or i-névi pl: ki-néviq	a, d, f, h, d, m, n, d		
68	a-in pl: wa'-á-néq a-in wa'-á-né a-in wa'-á-né			á-né a-né a-né
69	bí-bí (term of address)		a, o, a, m, a, m, n, d	o, h
70	ya-pa-ní-ga-v	f, m, f		
71	a-i-ga-v, (-i-gí-na)		m, h, s (male kin)	
72	ni-wé-lé-dé-néq	f, m, d		
73	na-hí'-puy-tá-néq	f, m, d		
74	a-á-ká-lí			m, h, s
75	ni-wé-lí	f, m, d, f		
76	yú-má pl: k-á-ká-n	f, f, h		
77	na-, ho-, wa-ká-ní pl: wa-ká-níq			f, f, h
78	bá-ba (voc. bá-ba-n) term of address to f, f, h			
79	i-á-nq, i-á-né-n	a, m, n		
80	na-á-ká-n			m, m, n
81	in, (fina), in-né, my son, son, má-ká h, s, etc.			
82	ni-á-kí, ni-á-kí ni-á-kí-in		child	d, m, d a, m, s
83	i-ní-ga-nq			s
84	ní-q-ká-dí ní-q-ká-in ní-q-ká-inq		little boy little girl little children	
85	ya-, ni-mo-qí	d, h, d		
86	á-ká-né		m, h	
87	ni-yá-u-lí yá-u		m, h	

† When there are no signs to marry.

‡ Terms 74 and 75 are used when cross-cousin marriage is proposed.

CARIB SOCIAL STRUCTURE				199
No.	Term	Men speaking	Meanings Either Sex	Women speaking
88	ya, sahi'puli		fa	
89	ya, si-sagun?	as		
90	si-bile	ad		had
91	si-sape-igun	wi:sah?		
92	si-sape-igun	as:ah?		
93	i-simun, si-mu-ka	gi		
	pl: -qia		lumbear	
94	a-digui			gi
95	isui	ga		
	pl: i-si-si-si,			
	k-i-si-si			
96	a-digui			ga
	pl: w-digui			
97	a-dah, (a-dah)	ga	g ch, small ch	
	pl: a-dah,			
	(a-dah)			
98	y-ye	g ch, working		
	a-digui			g ch, working
99	a-i-bu	as ch?	as ch	
	is-i-bu			
100	a-i-bu		as ch	as ch?
	a-i-bu			

DECLARATION OF THE TERMS

The foregoing table has been divided, for the sake of convenience, into three sections: men speaking, men or women speaking, women speaking. But the dual character of the terminology should not on this account be supposed to have purely linguistic significance. Actually a good deal of reciprocal borrowing in the latter sphere had already taken place by Breton's day (cf. the indifferent employment of men's or women's pronominal prefixes in 7, 9, 49, 53, 81, 89; the use of the women's term 21 to form the men's compound term 22; and that of the men's term 81 to form the women's compound term 82). Some terms were used by both sexes to express the same relationship or to designate the same person (27, 34, 36, 69, 90, and probably 86 and 87), while others were employed for corresponding relationships by either sex (23, 26). But more often a differentiated terminology expresses what to the Carib was a distinction in relation-

- 60] ship rather than in language between the sexes. Thus the term used for my younger brother (n.p.) (80) means my (other) half while that used by the women for my sister (18) means like me. Obviously such terms were apt only when used by one sex. That it was the relationship spoken of, and not the sex of the speaker which decided the term to be employed in such cases is shown by the "men's terms" for *me* as (89) and *for me* (70). Both these are compound terms containing not the "women's term" for *me*, but the term for a woman's *me*, *iniqu* (83) together with that for a man's *sister* (in the former case) or *father's sister* (in the latter) (87 and 86; cf. 75). The terms employed for men's (80) and women's (83) younger brothers could be used as ordinary words by both sexes with respective meanings *half* and *mate, companion*.

Brown, while he gives a substantial and probably complete list of kinship terms used in his day, is often implicit and sometimes inconsistent as to their application.

Les cousins germains que nous appelons fils des frères de Pina, se nommant frères, et ses frères de Pina sont aussi appelés Pina; et les enfants de ses frères se construisent point d'alliance par exemple, mais bien avec les enfants des sœurs de leur Père, que s'il n'y avait point de filles, ils s'appelleraient, *Lepitigamen*.

We are left to deduce from the type of cross-cousin marriage and classificatory system described, that fathers' brothers' wives and daughters were classed as mothers and sisters and were identical, in theory at least, with mother's sisters and their children. It should further be borne in mind that all these terms whose designation involves the relationships of father, mother, brother, sister, *me*, or daughter probably participated in the extended application given to these classes; and that, e. g., *f f* or *d d* was in all likelihood called by the same term as *f m*, and considered as an equally eligible wife. The belief in the existence of exogamic class among the Island Carib appears to be based solely upon this assumption.

The term *n-i'kakey* (38), defined in one place as *f m* or *h*, is given in another place as "uncle who has married my maternal aunt," and in yet a third, as an alternative to 86, 87, as *m* or *h*.⁹ The terms *shimoy* (28) and *n-shiku* (27) are given as men's and girls' names respectively for *m* or *h*, while *w* or *h*, *h* or *m*, and *h* or *w* (w. sp.) are nowhere mentioned explicitly. The relevant text reads:

les cousins (quand ils sont mariés) prennent tous ces noms précités [70-75] pour venir chez-ey (*shimoy*). [The term] *shimoy*, est chez qu'elles viennent, je

⁹ See Brown, *Dictionnaire Caribbe-Français*, pp. 11, 225; *Dictionnaire Français-Caribbe*, p. 205.

● 20 is or has put down, taken possession of, or subjugated him, or her (cf. *ape* foot; *abid* power; *abim* a chief; *abimil* to dominate; *ab-type*, *abimilka* domestic or domestic; *ab-type*, *abimilka* matter or substance) and referred primarily to persons in marriage unions, or in those achieved without or against the consent of the girl's parents, whether by force, seduction, or elopement consequent on mutual affection. It is interesting to note that the typically Indian "affinity" between men who have enjoyed the same woman's favors is not only still recognized by the Caribs (see 20), but that this concept is now familiar to the Negro population, and is generally known by the Creole term *kiki*, or *condam*.

The terms 14 and 22 for betrothed are compounds of those for husband (13) and wife (21) respectively, with the suffix *-kani* (that) which is *so* *be*. No. 23, *n-ibid* my sweetheart, though not given by Brown, may confidently be derived from his *enibid*'s *a* *acorder*, *convenir*.

Brown gives the following terms for siblings-in-law:

- so* *h* (m sp): *yirui* (20)
 ibimay (28); (w sp): *n-ibid* (25)
 n-ibid (27); (girl sp): *n-ibid* (27)
be *w* (m sp): *n-ibid* (25)
 n-ibid (24)
w *so* (m sp): *wamika* (26)
 n-ibid (24)
h *be* (w sp): *n-ibid* (24)

Besides the absence of terms for *w* *be*, *h* *so*, and *be* *w*, (w sp), there are several points worth noticing. No. 24 is employed twice by the men and once by the women for a sibling-in-law of opposite sex; and for the former, alternative terms are given for both relationships. One of these, 25, is used by the men for *be* *w*, and by the women for *so* *h*; and therefore may be said to designate "spouse of my sibling-of-like-sex." Analysis shows that both 25 and 26 contain the same root as 13 and 82, and that the former pair consists of two complementary phrases whose contents may be rendered approximately by *I-share* (with)-them and *our share* or *who-shares* (with)-as respectively. Thus the father-mother-child classification assumed at the beginning of this discussion is confirmed and 26 (as "my spouse's sibling-of-like-sex") shown to be applicable to

10 The occurrence of this word, which Brown spelled *abimay* and *Rex-shays*, for *house* or *domestic* suggests that *n-ibid* and *n-ibid* may have signified nothing further than *house-mate* on an analogy with the Creole term *fon key woman* (of the) *house* for an concubine wife with whom one lives.

CARIBBEAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE

228

h be (w ap) as well as to w m (m ap). The term 24 was obviously one used during the period of communal evidence imposed on newly wedded couples in their relations with parents-in-law and sibling-in-law (cf. *anin* to *undo*, or *do from*; *sin* to *have ends*). Although neither Berton nor the term itself indicates how long this period lasted, it seems probable that it did not extend the wife's first pregnancy. It must, on the other hand, have been applicable to all four "sibling-in-law-of-opposite-sex" relationships, and have therefore included that of m h (w ap) as well as the three which are listed above. It may very probably have applied further to w m and h f, although of course the latter would not form a part of the marital household.

This still leaves w be, h m, and be w (w ap) unaccounted for. These affinals would not normally form a part of the marital household; and would be identical, under the cross-cousin marriage system practiced, with f m s (m ap), m be d (w ap), and f m d (w ap). As will be seen below and with the partial exception of the first (see 70), terms for these consanguinal relationships are also missing. Rochefort claims that all cousins of like sex called each other brother and sister, but this is not confirmed by either De Terno or Berton. If we are to accept the latter's remarks, quoted above, at their face value, it would appear that *ibány* (21) was used as a reciprocal for w be—m h (m ap), and *n-dáku* (27) as another for h m—be w (w ap), as well as its recorded use "by girls" for m h. There can at least be no etymological objection to such an interpretation, both terms being related to *ibány* to *breed*, *people*, or *multiply*, and every individual hypothetically designated by them being a potential grandparent of speaker's *ball* grand-child (97). Moreover, a tentative analysis of terms 91 and 92 (see below) supports this view with regard to the term *ibány* (21). This hypothesis might, if correct, point to an original system of sister exchange, with matrilineal descent (see also 33 and 67 below). The term *yéruti* (29), given as an alternative to 27 and 28 for m h (m ap), may have designated originally a wife's unmarried brother, and derive from *yéruti* that which remains.

The men's terms for father-in-law, mother-in-law—or more precisely the common terms for (a man's) w f and w m (31 and 32)—are *trikonyms* meaning *son's grandfather* and *son's grandmother* respectively (cf. 81, 93, 95). With this may be compared the usage reported by Berton, who says that it was considered impolite to employ the names of married people in their presence either in reference or address. They should be spoken of or to, he says, as "father of N—, mother of Y—." Although this is not the rule today, I know of two old couples who are habitually so called: "Pap N—", "Mam N—": N—standing in either case for the name of their youngest child. The reciprocal relationship

601 d h (m up) is likewise designated by a synonymous term, *hili-maka grandchild* person (33; see 97 and cf. 93, 31, the forms *i-ohko*, *i-makaka*).

No. 33, *hili-maka* or *-hili* progenitor, was used of (a woman's) h f, h m, and d h. This term appears to be a compound containing the root of *h* or *hi* *stuck, foundation, ramp* (as in 13, *o-hili* my husband), and of *hili* (m) *raise up* (as in 10) (cf. also *minka hili* her, from *minka* *heavy*; *o-ohko-hili* my thumb > *o-ohko* my hand). No. 34, *-ih* was also used by both sexes to designate d h or (a woman's) h e (another confirmation of the practice of unilateral cross-cousin marriage). All these terms (93, 33, 34), equating to some extent *gr f*, *h f*, *h m*, *d h*, and *w h e*, appear to contain the concept of increasing stock or breeding, and point to original marriages.

The term given for s w (m or w up) is *-hika*, or *-hika* (36), and appears to connote *bound or connected* (cf. *hika* to bind; *hika* throat or fat; *hik* or *hik* to be wanting, desiring). That given for (a man's) m d is *-hika* (30), presumably compound of the same *h* increase, prolong, project (cf. 27, 28, 97), and *h* out of, from, by, through. This looks suspiciously like another synonym on a parallel with 35 for d h. (A man's) m s is *ni-* or *ya-nigini* (39), and is composed of the terms for (a man's) sister (67) and (a woman's) son (33). No term is listed for (a woman's) h d, but there is one, *hika* (37) for h m s. The significance of this latter term is obscure, but it may possibly be a compound of terms 97 and 36, and mean *grandchild's m' h*.

The existence of such appellations as *ti-wa ally* for men whose wives are sisters; *liwa* (? esteemed, looked up to?) for parents whose son and daughter are married to one another (see 30 and 44) might suggest that first cousin marriages were rare. However, even present-day Caribs always give preference to the term for an achieved relationship. Thus, true physiological siblings will call one another *compire* or *compire* if one of them has sponsored the other's child; while children call an uncle or aunt who is at the same time a god-parent *parrain* or *marraïne*. A married woman is usually spoken of and to, even by her own parents and siblings, as "Ma' N—"; N—standing for the husband's given name.

Turning next to consanguineal relationships, we find that sibling terminology shows more concern with seniority than with sex. The men had two terms (36, 57), and the women one term (59) for o h e, all three of which mean *he is (or) comes in front of (me) or (my) predecessor*. Terms 61 and 62 meaning (my) follower were used for a brother "next after" in age; while y h e was termed a man's (other) half, and a woman's mate, companion (60 and 63). It is noteworthy that a man's sister was called by a term (67) which otherwise meant

CARIB SOCIAL STRUCTURE

229

plant, and this word was further employed as an alternative to (or in combination with) *ti* for daughter. The woman's relationship to her sister was expressed by a term (*ti*, *tiwa* my sister; *wa-tiwa* or *wa-tiwa-ti* our sisters) which is apparently cognate with, and of similar meaning to, *tiwa* (9) like, kin, kind. *Wa-tiwa* or *wa-tiwa* before or coming after this term denoted an older sister; while a woman's younger sister was called by the same name as her younger brother, with the addition of the female pronominal affix *-la-* (64). The men used a special term of address to a *ti* (76) the meaning of which is not clear. On the other hand, terms 63 and 66, used by both sexes in addressing a *y* *ti* and *y* *wa*, are apparently only vocative forms of 63 and 64. *Bibi* (69) was used by both sexes in addressing a mother or older sister (or their classificatory equivalents), and, by the women, in addressing an *o* *ti*.

Before considering cross-cousin and other collateral kinship, it will be as well to attempt the analysis of the parent-child terminology. The men's term *yina* my father (70) resembles the word *yina* *man*, *bang*; while its plural (*ti-tiwa* or *ti-tiwa*) recalls the stem *-tiwa*, already found in 30 (compare also *yabawa* *defender*). *Ti-tiwa* or *ti-tiwa* my mother (in up) (79) may be related to *ti-tiwa* *care*, *love*, *devote* (what); *ti-tiwa* to *love*, etc., *ti-tiwa* *not* to *engender*, *ti-tiwa* to *put forth*, *serve* < *ti-tiwa* to *be put forth*, etc. The women's terms for their parents are identical, except for male and female pronominal affixes (77 and 80) and appear to be periphrastic verb forms signifying *he* (or *she*) *mothered* (or *put*) *me* *apart*.

N-i-tiwa (82) *my little one* ("mark of my division"; cf. 13) and *in* (81) *my son* ("fruit, seed") have no inherent sexual significance, although, according to Bates, the women used the former of their daughters, the men the latter of their sons, while a combination of the two served the women to denote a son. No. 81, *i-tiwa*, was a term used by both sexes to denote a woman's son, i. e. the relationship of a male child to its mother (cf. 70 and 89). This term is almost certainly derived from *tiwa* to *obscure* (cf. *tiwa* *beach*, *erectile*; *tiwa* *erectile* *erectile* *erectile*; *tiwa* *erectile* *erectile* *erectile*) and appears to contrast with terms in *-in*, *-in*, *-in* (9, 64, 71, 72, 73), which seems may well be related to *tiwa* to *put forth*, *spread*, *make open* or *available*. Whether this term (*i-tiwa*) implied that the Caribs, like the New Caledonians according to Lambek, considered woman as a being "who is not closed" until she bears a son; or that they held that "vir finis familia," one can only guess. A man's daughter, *ya-* or *ninoti* (83) may be compared to *amotere* only son and to *tiwa* *one*, *single*, *knit* *other*.

No terms are given for *m* *ti* *w* or *f* *ti* *w*, who were presumably closed

61 on mother; but *u-likaya* (18) is given for *u-ik* (as well as for *u-ir*, as an alternative to 86, 87). Considering that Island Carib families were (and still are) matrilineal, and that the men, or at any rate some of them, were only visiting husbands, we should expect to find the *u-ir* playing an important role in children's lives, and to find this circumstance reflected in the terminology. Brown gives without distinguishing them two terms (apart from that, 18, mentioned above) for this relationship: *yá u-ir* (> *ni-yá-lin ny u-ir*) and *aká-lin u-ir*. The first (cf. *yá* *thinks*; *yá* *right hand*, *hand with which one thinks* > *kayá* *he thinks*, *gave up*) appears to mean something like *uncle-in-law*; the latter (my) *uncle*; *source of (my) shape* (or) *of my being* (cf. *á-ká* *homework*; *ská* *ship*, *form*, *real*; *á-ká* *went*, *put*, *came*, *death*; *u-ka* *says*) *u-likaya* (*calls cy out*) *one's wife*). The instrumental suffix *-u-ir* means *that with, from or by means of which*, or *on account of which*: *iniká-lin u-ir* [*thing*] *by means of which I was loved* > *iniká-lin* *he whom I loved*; *á-ká-lin u-ir* *comp-ground*; *yá-lin u-ir* *maternal birthplace*. No. 88, *u-ir* or *yá-lin u-ir* *I* is probably common (*the one*) *traced (shown)* *I go out* (cf. *-á-l* *off traced*; *pá-l* *out from*), referring to his postnuptial marriage and transfer into his father's sister's household. The reciprocal relationship of *u-ir d* (*n* up) and *ir u* (*w* up) have already been discussed above (see 89, 90, 14; *ir d* [*w* up] is not listed).

The confusion with regard to the application of term M, *o-thekayt*, may suggest that bilateral cross-cousin marriage was practiced, especially as no terms are given for a woman's *br w* and *br d*. However, this was obviously not so, for *br w* and *br d* were not used.

Nigao, c'est ainsi que les cousins appellent leurs cousins maternels les que leurs mères ne se marient pas avec eux; et les cousins en tel cas les appellent vicieusement cousins. Ceux cy en cas qu'ils se doivent prendre en mariage, les appellent vicieusement et celles le cas vicieuses.

Combining the cross-cousin with the affinal terminology already discussed, we get the following set up. For the men:

100 (70)

f m d (72, 73) → betrothed (22) → wife (15)
→ he betrothed (75) → he w (24 → 25)
→ betrothed as (75?) → w as (24 → 26)
as h (27, 28, 29)

for the women:

→ betrothed (14) → husband (13)
→ as betrothed (74) → as h (27, 24 → 25)
→ betrothed by (74?) → h by (24 → 26).

CARIB SOCIAL STRUCTURE

207

from which *m br d* and *br w* are missing. Nor are we told, with the partial exception of *f ss s* (70) and that of a man's *ss h* (27, 28, 29), what cross-cousins of like sex called one another either before or after marriage. Moreover while terms are given for *f ss h* (38), *h ss s* (37), a man's *ss s* and *ss s ch* (89 and 99), for a man's *ss d* or *h ss d* (90), or a woman's *br s* or *w br s* (34), there apparently was none for *m br w*, for a woman's *br d* or *w br d* or her children.

The terms themselves are mostly compounds, and show concern mainly with function in the production of descendants (-ibayē 97). The term *f ss s* (70) is a compound of the terms for a man's *f ss* (88) and that for a woman's *s* (83). With it may be compared 73 which still more clearly contains the word for paternal aunt (80). The alternative to the latter, *ni-wēle-átonŭ f ss d* (72), should be compared to *n-igatu* (or *n-igītu*, 71) *m br s* on the one hand, and both these to the corresponding terms employed in their stead when a "marriage had been arranged," *ni-wēle-ri* (75) and *n-ikāli-ri* (74). Nos. 72 (which appears to be a plural form) and 75 clearly contain the word *wēle* woman, female (3), while the stem of 74 almost as plainly derives from *wēkeli* (or *wikiri*) man male (1). From this—and from the contrasting suffixes, -átu (-átonŭ) and -ri—we may safely deduce that the stem of *nigatu* is also a contraction of 1. The meanings of these terms may therefore be assumed to be like, or akin to my woman (72) or to my man (71), and has become or is my woman (75) or my man (74).

Before leaving the terms for collateral kin, it will be as well to mention two frankly compound terms, *ibámuy-nikapue* (92) and *ibámuy-nigatu* (91) which Breton rather loosely defined (see above) as the cross-cousins' names for the children of cross-cousin marriages on the uncles' and aunts' sides respectively. Elsewhere he refers to them as being "nephews who are farther removed (plus reculés)" than those classed under 81 and 82, 89 or 37. As far as I can judge, these terms can apply only to *ss s w br* (= *m br d s*) and *w br s ss h* (= *f ss s d h*), since all other "nephews" are already accounted for in the terminology. In this case, *ibámuy* must be taken as applying to (a man's) wife's brother as well as to his sister's husband; while *nikapue* would designate my (m sp) sister's son (literally, *nikapue* probably means my male descendant), and *nigatu* would designate in this case my wife's *br s* (literally male kin). Thus we may write *ibámuy-nikapue w br* - (of) my *w ss s* (m sp) and *ibámuy-nigatu ss h* - (of) my *w br s* (m sp).

Of *n-inibue* (or *inibue*) and *n-itamue*, (or *n-itāpue*) Breton says: "c'est ainsi que les Oncles et les Tantes nommant les enfants de leurs neveux, ceux

cy les nomment ainsi que dessus, comme leurs Peres" (100). Presuming that the "uncles" and "aunts" are those whom they and their fathers call akátobu (86) and nahípuli (88), these "nephews" are (men's) ss s s and (women's) br s s (when these are not d s?). These terms should be compared to 52 and 34 respectively.

Paternal and maternal sides were apparently merged in the grandchild-grandparent generation. Ob íbali (97), the usual term for gr ch Breton says: "Petit enfant, petits enfans. Tous les arrières fils sont ainsi nommez par les grand-pères, et grande-mères." The word itself appears to mean *offspring, progeny, increase*. Although men and women had different terms for gr f and gr m, their meanings appear to have corresponded pretty closely. Nor do the latter indicate any differentiation in affiliation. Grandfather was -támuru or -támuku to the men, -árguti to the women (93 and 94). The former appears to be related to atámura *to capture*, támú *captive*, atábura *to enclose (or) close under*; the latter may be compared to árgeta or árgita *to hunt, take, capture*. With the women's term for grandmother, -agete (96), compare ágeta *to nourish, suckle*; whence also two other terms, yege (m sp) and niligini (w sp) *my grandchild or animal that I have reared* (98). The men's term for gr m, ínuti (95) and its plurals, ináwtinú, k-inoyé are more obscure. They appear to be related however to ?íharu *woman*, ?ínoyú *women* (4) and perhaps ultimately to ?íhuti *raised, exalted*; ?íhoni *that which is on high*; ñ-inuta-e *to put out from, to leave*; inúbali *gift*; with the significance *out (or) forth from (her)*. These two pairs of terms probably reflect the structure of the matrilineal joint family in which the grandfather was hunter and fisher, the grandmother the provider of other sustenance.

Among the present day Carib in Dominica, a woman usually has more to do with the upbringing of her daughter's child than its own mother, and is in consequence often called da or dada *nurse* by it instead of gágan *grandmother*. I have even known a woman to suckle her daughter's child! On the other hand, probably because (until the law forbade it quite recently) women usually delivered their own daughters, a child calls the sage-femme who put it into the world gágan. These last two terms are, of course, Creole.

Among the remaining terms, perhaps the most interesting are those for (formal) friend and joking friend (50 to 54). Breton gives i-bawánale (50) and ini-buynáliku (51) (m sp), and ni-tiñao (53) (w sp) *mon ami, mon compère* for the former relationship, of which he says:

Ce mot de compère est en usage en toutes les Isles où il y a des Sauvages, tant parmi les François, lors qu'ils traitent avec leurs amis Sauvages, que parmy les Sauvages

quand ils parlent en François avec lequel ils ont contracté amitié, le François donne son nom au Sauvage et le Sauvage le sien au François, s'il ne luy donne pas sa traite, au moins il le préfère aux autres, et cela n'est pas sans lui apporter quelque profit.

Unfortunately this gives us no information as to the implications of the relationship between Caribs. However, he elsewhere lists a term for *brother's friend* (see 52) of which he says:

Les Sauvages ont tous un amy particulier, auquel ils ont une créance toute extraordinaire chacun au sien, et ils l'appellent *ibaoûnâle*, *nitignaom* [cf. *matiaon nomêti je n'en ay point*], l'amitié est bien telle qu'elle passe jusqu'aux autres frères, qui l'appellent le compère ou l'ami de leur frère.

The terms themselves may be explained as follows: *i-bawânale* (*one who deals with me* (cf. *bawânâme to trade, deal*; *bawanaku* or *bawana-muku dealer, merchant*; *imâle with me, together with me*); *ini-buynâliku* *being dear to me* (cf. *ibûynôli preference, love, friendship*); *ni-tiñâq* (or more probably *ni-tîyaq*) *co-begetter, co-stock* (? cf. 10, 33, 34, also 19 "co-subduer"). No. 52 is the same as 99, *ne ch*. Although *in-* is used sometimes as a man's possessive *my*, *ini-* appears to be used here (and in 51, 54, 39, and 99) in the broad sense of *affiliate*. Thus *ini-égali* (54: "c'est le nom que prennent ceux qui raillent et bouffonnent par ensemble à toute rencontre") probably means *affiliate by forthrightness* (cf. *alôlégai to joke > alôle saliva, slaver*; *šekalê-k" a to make outward, "to come out with it"*; *šekai to put out from*). No. 55, *ibwinene*, means simply *one dear to me*. The step-child—step-parent relationship is designated by terms 39 to 43. The women's term *ni-rahîkayê my step-child* (40) may be referred to 82 for the stem and to 38 and 59 for the suffix. The significance of the latter appears to be *he becomes (my child, etc.)* or rather *I be-child (him)*, *I be-father (him)*, *I put (him) before* (40, 38, and 59 respectively). The men's term, 39, *ini-emûtuli step-child* appears to have the same stem as 81, *son together with a suffix -tuli, meaning put out* (cf. the Creole expression, *zâfâ deho outside child* for one whose mother's husband is not its father). Nos. 41 and 42 are merely the men's words for *father, mother*, with the suffixed element *-tôni*, which probably derives from *tenêti like, resembling*; while 43 is the woman's term for *mother*, with a suffix, *-tonaru*, which has a similar meaning to *-tuli, out from*.

The Caribs' preoccupation with names and naming is reflected in terms for *namesake* (45), *name-child* (46), and *name-giver* (47) (cf. *aââ-ba-e impose [a name] on him!*). No. 48 is given as the men's term for (*name-*) *sponsor* and the women's term for *chief, headman* (the men using *ûbutu chief*; *wayubutûliku he is our chief*). No. 49 *in-ebênêbuli* or *y-ebênene my sponsor (or) incisor*,

CARIB SOCIAL STRUCTURE

211

a suspected wife, and from the preponderance of terms for male over those for female kin. Male domination is further indicated by the alternative forms of marriage recorded, and reflected in the variety of the men's terms for spouse; while the absence of this feature from the women's tongue suggests the former prevalence of a stricter system of matrimony. 174 562

The latter is revealed by a great deal of the kinship terminology itself, in which the men used the same or equivalent terms as the women. The analysis of these terms confirms the historical records of unilateral cross-cousin marriage (to paternal aunts' daughters), of the sororate and levirate, and of the so-called classificatory system; and attests the (at least) one-time existence of matrilineal descent and inheritance (the male line zigzagging through sister's son back to son's son). Since the significance and social implications of these terms must have been clear to Carib speakers, it seems probable that as an ideal the system was kept intact, but that marriage by elopement or capture became just as common so long as raiding expeditions could be kept up. Present-day house inheritance by the youngest child, continued prevalence of matrilineal residence, and surviving kinship terminology also tend to a like conclusion. Of the fifteen kinship terms remembered today and recorded by myself, it is noteworthy that those belonging to the men's speech (ss h, w f = s gf, w m = s gm, s, gs, gf) are concerned with sisters' marriage and posterity, and with the grandparent-grandchild relationship; while those of the women's speech (h, w, d, f, m, o br, y br) designate the conjugal and consanguineal group. The other two, n-ubu *my mate* (12) and n-igitu *my mother's brother's son*, belong to the common vocabulary. 601 174 562

In this sense, and only in this sense, exogamous, non-totemic, matrilineal clans may be said to have existed among the Island Carib; but I have found no evidence that they bore any names, or even went beyond the joint family. [618]

The variety of terms for sponsors and their "godchildren," for namesake, joking, and formal friends, as well as the description of the elétuak rites and festival, suggest the former existence of purely Carib institutional associations, which are, however, nowhere recorded for the islands. A last vestige of such might perhaps be seen in the present-day seriousness with which godsib-godparent-godchild, and sibling-of-first-communion relationships are taken. 608 174 575

Like other conquerors before and after them, the Island Carib seem to have begun by imposing a maximum of social change on their erstwhile Arawak wives; only to revert, albeit very gradually, to a large part of the culture of the conquered (even in language: all recent Island Carib texts showing a large proportion of Arawak words and forms). The coming of the white men, and the 178